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SINCERITY AND FEARLESSNESS

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The Common-Wealth of Oceana.

Henry Stubbe

THE
Common-Wealth
OF
OCEANA

Put into the *Ballance*, and found too *light*.

OR

An Account of the *Republick* of *Sparta*, with occaſional Animadverſions upon Mr. *James Harrington* and the *Oceaniſtical* Model.

By *HENRY STUBBE* of Ch. Ch. *OXON.*

HORAT.

—— *amphora cæpit*
Inſtitui, currente ROTA, *cur Urceus exit?*

Plaut. Aſinar. Act. 3. Scen. 3.

——*nunc enim hic eſt*
Negotioſus interdius; videlicet Solon *eſt,*
Leges ut conſcribat, quibus ſe populus teneat. Gerræ.
Qui ſeſe parere apparent hujus legibus, profecto
Nunquam bonæ frugi ſient. ——

LONDON,
Printed for *Giles Calvert*, at the *Black ſpread-Eagle* at the weſt end of *Pauls*, 1660.

Gray 1660.298.638
~~Gray 1660.298.638~~

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To the Reader.

WHat you ſee here is but a part of a greater work, the promulgation whereof is become unſeaſonable, not that I had any particular deſigns to promote, which ſhould be defeated by the late unexpected revolutions; but becauſe I think mens minds to be otherwiſe employed, then to attend unto the Hiſtorical defects written by the Authours of Oceana, or Mr. Harrington (the Dedicator therof) in ſome pieces of his. The moſt material papers which I have reſerved from the fire, are this preſent Diſcourſe, and another ſhewing, as to matter of Fact, that neither Rome, or Athens did allow Liberty of Conſcience, and indeed any man who had read either Livy, (decad. 3. l. 5. & decad. 4. l. 9.) or Petitus (in his Laws of Athens) or Diogenes Laertius (in the lives of Socrates, Anaxagoras, &c.) or Meurſius (in his Treatiſe of the Areopagus,) could never doubt but there were Laws in force, and Judicatories appointed in the one and the other Common-Wealth for the ſuppreſſing all Innovations in Religion. So that his Ignorance or Integrity is much to be queſtioned, who could in reiterated books avow the contrary, and impoſe upon the World as if there were Liberty of Conſcience granted, where all can amount but to a connivance at things puniſhable by the publick Laws, and oftentimes puniſhed. But what may we not bear with at the hands of one who hath entertained us with a diſcourſe about Pauls tryal at Athens, ſuch as from Chryſoſtome to the Synods Annotations, no Commentator, learned or unlearned, ever publiſhed? The ſame pen made Valerius and Publicola, two interlocutors in a Dialogue, though but one man, and made the eſtabliſher of a Senate influencing, to be the aſſertor of pure Democracy. He, maugre the account which Pliny

Pliny (*and others*) *gives of* Nero, *told us there never was* anhouſe of gold: *that where the* over-ballance of land & power was in a few, *it was* Ariſtocracy, *though* Ariſtotle *do* conſtantly *avow it to be* Oligarchy: *he miſtook* Aragon *for a* Monarchy; *that the* Roman Senate, *was the* onely one choſen by the people, *though I have ſhewed the contrary in* Sparta; *and in* Athens *though the* Senate of the Bench *had no* negative *upon the people, yet did the power of the* Areopagus *until* Pericles's *time* (*who is acknowledged by diminiſhing their power to have ruined the State*) *render that Republick almoſt an* Ariſtocracy (*as* Sigonius *confeſſeth*) *and I could ſhew how they have reverſed the* determinations of the people *upon ſuch occaſions, as at once manifeſt the power of that* Senate, *and the* fallibility *of a* popular Aſſembly. *But this is not my preſent work, and what I have done is too great a diverſion from the more* neceſſary ſtudies *of my life, that I ſhould proſecute them. I hope the Gentleman who ſhall animadvert upon what I here propoſe will not* twice *miſtake* tales *for* replies, *or by* impertinent reaſons *and conteſts*, how this *or* that could fall out, *go to* diſprove events *as unqueſtionable, as the narrations of men*, ſober *and* inquiſitive *can make them. This is all, unleſſe you expect ſomething further as to the* Elogies *I have formerly beſtowed upon Mr.* Harrington. *Truly I cannot remember them without ſome apprehenſions of the* undeſerved *returns he hath made me*; *and I add, that I proceeded upon a ſuppoſal that he was the* Authour of Oceana; *but it is clear that his* other writings, *and* that, *never iſſued from the* ſame ſtudy: *what I ſaid of the* Oceaniſtical model, *that it was* almoſt the pattern in the mount, *ſignifies little as to its* practicableneſſe, *againſt which I diſputed in the ſame place. All* Artiſans *have their* models *exactly ideated in their fancy, yet they are not ſo* vain *as to think there can be a* workmanſhip *ſo* regular *as they can imagine. There are not greater myſteries to be learned from* two girles dividing a cake, *then from every* Turner, *who ſhapes his wood, not with what* exactneſſe *he can* fancy, *but that its* knotrineſſe, length *or* ſtrength *will permit.*

THE

The Common-Wealth of Oceana, *put into the* Ballance *and found too* light; *Or,* *An account of the* Republick *of* Sparta, *with occaſional Animadverſions upon Mr.* James Harrington *and the* Oceaniſtical *Model.*

THe *Lacedemonians* were planted in *Sparta* by *Ariſtodemus*, who having *two Sons*, the elder was called *Euryſthenes*, the younger *Procles*: Theſe *two* after their Fathers deceaſe were *both* made *Kings* by the *People*, through the Contrivance of their Mother; thus was that Country governed by two Kings at once, and that *reiglement* was continued *unto poſterity*: Theſe *Brothers* did not *accord* all their life time, nor their *ſeveral Deſcendants* after them. And from this *diſtribution* of that *Monarchy* (which was in it's Conſtitution, whatever were the *ballance of Land*, ABSOLUTE enough, ſince * *Plutarch* ſaith it was "Αγαν μοναρχικὴν, *highly Monarchical*) did ariſe that *Male-adminiſtration* whereby the People were grievouſly diſtracted until the *Reformation* effected by *Lycurgus*. Τέτες (Ευρυσθένα καὶ Πρόκλία) ἀπόφαδόντας, αὐτές τε ἀδελφὲς ἐόντας, λέγεσι διαφόρες ἔς τὸν πάντα χρόνον τῆς ζοῆς αὐτίους ἀλλήλοισι, καὶ τὲς ἀπὸ τέτων γενομένες, ἀσκύτως διατελέειν. The *Lacedemonians themſelves avow, That the Sons of* Ariſtodemus [Euryſthenes *and* Procles] *though Brothers, did after they were once come to age, for evermore diſagree, and their Poſterity after them.* So great was the *variance* betwixt the *two Brothers* that they are related not to have agreed *in any one thing*, but the Peopling of *Calliſte* with a Colony under their *Uncle* and *Guardian*, Theras: And *the like Contentions did agitate the whole linage ſucceſſively deſcending from, and ſucceeding to thoſe Brother-Kings*: Theſe are the very words of *Pauſanias*,

Herodot. l. 6. c. 52.

In Lycurg. p. 40. D.

Herodot. l. 6. c. 52.

Paufan. Lac. p. 105.

P. 106 *Procli quidem & Eurithreni in Theræ mandatis duntaxat obeundis par fuit & concors alacritas, in cæteris voluntatum ac consiliorum omnium summa dissensio; quod si etiam optimè inter se convenientes fuissent, non tamen eorum posteros posse me putem una & eadem rerum gestarum expositione comprehendere, cum nullâ unquam ætate aut patrueles cum patruelibus, aut eorum inter se liberos, ac omnes deinceps posteros æquo jure vixisse contigerit.* Herodot. l. 6. c. 52.

The Younger family *is stiled by* Herodotus *l. 6. c. 51.* ἰυιὰ ἀδελφεὴν, *the* poorer *or* meaner house.

* *His predecessors were* Procles; *and* Sons: *of the* popularity *of the latter we may judge by the story in* Plutarch. Lycurg. p. 40. B. C.

† *The very names of the Kings of the elder house carry a majesty in them.* Εὐρυθένης, Ἄγις Ἐχέστρατος, Ἀλκέστης, Δόρυσσος, Ἀγησίλαος, Ἀρχίλαος, *but the younger family were of more popular Appellations.* Πρυτανις, Σοος, Εὐρυπὼν, Πρύτανις, Πολυδέκτης, Εὐνομος, Ἀνάξανδρος & Λεωβώτης.

Δίδυμοι ὄντες [Προκλῆς καὶ Εὐρυσθένης] διάφορα τὰ μάλιστα ἦσαν. προσηλθόντες γὰρ ἅμα μίαν ἀπιχθείας, ὅμως ἐν κοινῷ θήρᾳ τῷ ἀπὸ Ἰάσονος ἀδελφῷ τῆς μητρὸς σφῶν ὄντι Ἀργείᾳ, ἐπιτροπεύσαντι καὶ αὐτῶν, συνήραντο εἰς ἀποικίαν.—Προκλεῖ δὲ καὶ Εὐρυσθένει, μίαν μὲν τῆς προθυμίας τῆς εἰς τὸν Θήραν, εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνήλθον αἱ γνῶμαι, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ διεστήκασι σφίσιν ὅσα πάντα τὰ βασιλεύματα. ἃ μὲν γὰρ ἐξ ὁμονοίας τῶν ἀπογόνων αὐτοῖς, εἰς κοινὸν καταλογὸν ὑπάξειν ἔμελλον ἅ γάρ τε πάντα εἰς τὸ αὐτὸ συνελκύσασιν ἡλικίας, ἐς ἀεφιόντε ἀεφιῶν καὶ ἀεφιῶν παῖδας, ἀσαύτως δὲ καὶ τῶν κατωτέρω κατὰ ἀξιώματα τυχεῖν ἀλλήλοις γειρόντας τὸν ἴσον.

The *two Families* thus ruled *joyntly*, yet with *mutual animosities* and jealousies, whence *divers Interests* were set on foot and carried on by *different means*: The *younger*, who owed his *share* in the *Monarchy* unto a Cozenage acted by his Mother, who pretended she knew not which of her *two twin-Sons* was eldest (the *eldest* being by *law* to *succeed*) whereupon the *Oracle* was consulted, and they commanded *to accept of both for their Kings, but principally to honour the Eldest*; whom they discovered, (or at least acted as if they had done so) by the Mother's *tenderness* over the *One* more than the *Other*; Hereupon the *younger family* to bear up their Repute against the *insolence* of the *elder House*, whose *legal Right* was *known*, and to whom the *Oracle* of *Apollo* had adjousted *greater honour*, did caresse the *people*, and complyed with *their humors*, over *whom* Kings of the *elder family* did insult. This we may not only *conjecture* from the ordinary management of Affairs in the World, but also from what is Reported from *Eurypon* or *Eurytion* the *third* * *King* of the *second House*, who (on *his part*, for there is no such thing Related concerning the other King of the *elder family*) did *remit* of the *Grandeur* usual in the *Spartan Monarchy*, thereby to endear himself to the *popular*, or *Multitude*. Δοκεῖ πρῶτος Εὐρυπίων τὸ ἄγαν μεταρχικὸν ἀνεῖναι τῆς βασιλείας, δημαγωγῶν καὶ χαριζόμενος τοῖς πολλοῖς. *Eurytion* (from whom the *Kings* his *successors* were instead of *Procliдæ* termed *Eurytionidæ* or *Eurypontidæ*) *seems to have been the first who did recede from that Grandeur which was highly Monarchical in the Kings of* Lacedemon, *cajoling and gratifying the Multitude and Commonalty.*† That these *cajoleries* were continued by *that family*, and the contrary practised by the *other Kings*, seems to be declared by *Plutarch* in the same place: Ἐκ δὲ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀνέσεως, τῷ μὲν δήμῳ θερσυνομένῳ, τῶν δὲ ὕστερον βασιλέων, τὰ μὲν ἀπιχθαινομένων τῷ βιαζεσθαι τοὺς πολλοὺς, τὰ δὲ φθόνῳ χάριν ἢ δόξης ἀσθένειαν ὑπερφερομένων, ἀταξία καὶ ἀπραξία κατέσχε τὴν Σπάρτην ὅση πολὺν χρόνον.

By

By Reaſon of this condeſcention, compliance and cajollery of *Eurytion*, *the Commonalty being imboldened, and the following Kings either hated* [*viz.* thoſe of the elder houſe] *becauſe they did demean themſelves with violence and outrage towards the multitude, or over-born* [*viz.* the *Eurytionide*, imitatours as well as deſcendants of *Eurytion*] *through a deſire to ingratiate themſelves, or by their particular weakneſs, there was nothing but miſ-rule and diſorder in* Sparta *for a long time.* Of this *younger* houſe was *Charilaus* the Nephew of *Lycurgus*, of whoſe *popularity* and the different *mine* in his *Colleague* of the elder houſe, *Archelaus*, we may learn from the enſuing Story. *When ſome extolled* Charilaus *unto* Archelaus, *the latter replyed, How can he be a good man, who is not ſevere againſt the bad?* The *perpetual diſcenſion* betwixt thoſe *Kings* of *different Families*, *equal in* † *power* (ſo that even *Charilaus*'s power is by *Ariſtotle* called *Tyranny*, and not his deportment, *Polit.* l. 5. c. 12.) though not in *honour*, ſo much miſery did befal *Lacedæmon*, that they are ſaid to have been the *worſt-governed of almoſt all the Greeks*; and the *people* ſeem to have *ſwayed* in favour of the *younger houſe*, ſince their *inclination* for *Lycurgus*, who was deſcended from *Eurytion*, is celebrated, who that he had not the *general conſent* of the *Spartans*, or of the *better ſort*, but onely the *univerſal concurrence* of the *multitude*, it doth not more *appear* from the *equality* of *his laws*, being ſuch as *it is not imaginable* how the *grandees* having the *power in themſelves*, ſhould by the *ſenſe of any diſorders* be *voluntarily perſwaded* to: then it is evident from what *Plutarch* reports of his procedure. *Cleomenes* having made uſe of *force* to revive the conſtitutions of *Lycurgus*, that were diſcontinued, makes this *Apology* for himſelf; Εἰ μὲν δ' ἦν δυνατὸν ἄνευ σφαγῆς ἀπαλλάξαι τὰς ἐπαχθεῖς τὴς Λακεδαίμονος κακώσεις, τυραννίδος καὶ πολυτελείας, καὶ χρέα καὶ δανεισμὸς, καὶ φαυλοτέρα τούτων κακὰ, πένιαν καὶ πλοῦτον, ἀντυχίσειτο, καὶ ἡγεῖτο πάντῶς βασιλέων ἑαυτὸν, ἂ σπερ ἰατρὸν ἀναδύνας ἀσάμβυον τὴν πατρίδα τῶν ὧν τῆς ἀνάγκης ἴσχυν συγγνώμονα τὸν Λυκοῦργον, ὃς ἔτι βασιλεύς ὤν, ὅτι ἄρχων, ἰδιώτας ἤ, βασιλέων ἐπεχείρει, ἐν τοῖς ὅπλοις περιῆλθεν εἰς ἀγορὰν ὥστε δίσταται τὸν βασιλέα Χαρίλαον, ὅτι βωμὸν καταφυγεῖν, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνος μὲν ὀκνηρὸς ἦν καὶ φιλόπαιγις, ταχὺ τῷ Λυκούργῳ τῶν πεκτημένων μετασχεῖν, καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν θέσθαι τῆς πολιτείας, ἔργῳ ἤ μαρτυρῆσαι τὸν Λυκοῦργον, ὅτι πολιτείαν μεταβαλεῖν ἄνευ βίας καὶ φόνου χαλεπόν ἐστιν. *That if it had been poſſible to free* Sparta *from its urgent miſeries without violence, he ſhould have reputed it*

† Which they did *make uſe of* in a different ſort: for the *one* could not abate the *right* and *power* of the *other*; but hee might *recede* from the *exerciſe* of *his own*.

Κακίστους σχεδὸν πάντων Ἑλλήνων, Herodot. l. 1. c. 65.

Plutarch. in vit. Agid. & Cleomen. p. 809. B. C.

it the most happy circumstance in the World; but as he had made Lycurgus *his president in the establishment of the Common-Wealth which he had instituted, so he had proceeded in the like manner;* Lycurgus *being neither King, nor Commander, but a private Person, when he attempted his Reiglement, came armed into the Market-place, and so affrighted* Charilaus *the King, that he betook himself for refuge unto the Altars of the Gods; but being acquainted with the design, as he was a good man, and a lover of his Country, he did immediately assist* Lycurgus *therein. By this deportment of his,* Lycurgus *did sufficiently witnesse how difficult or rather impossible he thought it, to alter a political constitution without violence and terror;* Which discourse of *Cleomenes* is verified by what *Plutarch* sets down in the life of *Lycurgus*, having resolved upon a total *alteration* of the Government, and prediſposed the people thereunto, partly by the help of *Thales* a Musician, and partly by an *Oracle* procured and noysed abroad in favour of him, ἐπαρθεὶς δὴ τούτοις ἐκεῖνος τοὺς ἀρίστους, καὶ συνφάπτεσθαι παρεκάλει, κρύφα διαλεγόμενος τοῖς φίλοις πρῶτον, εἶτα δ' ἧττον κατὰ μικρὸν ἀπτόμενος πλείονων, καὶ συνιστὰς ὅτι τὴν πρᾶξιν αὐτοῖς σὺ ὁ καιρὸς ἦκε, τριάκοντα τοὺς πρώτους ἐκέλευσε μετὰ ὅπλων ἅπαντας εἰς ἀγορὰν ἐκπλῆξαι καὶ φόβον πρὸς τοὺς ἀντιπράττοντας· ὧν εἴκοσι τοὺς ἐπιφανεστάτους Ἕρμιππος ἀνέγραψε. --- ἀρχομένης δὲ τῆς ταραχῆς, ὁ βασιλεὺς Χαρίλαος φοβηθεὶς, ὡς ἐπ' αὐτὸν ὅλης τῆς πράξεως συνεστάμενος, κατέφυγε πρὸς τὸν χαλκίοικον, εἶτα πεισθεὶς καὶ λαβὼν ὅρκους, ἀνέστη καὶ μετῆλθε τοῖς περὶ Λυκοῦργον, φύσει πρᾶος ὤν. *He first made privately his applications to his Friends, and those who were of the best* ‖ *repute, and desired them to joyn with him; then by little and little he drew in more, inducing them to share in the attempt. And when it seemed convenient, he appointed thirty of the principal men to go unto the Market-place betimes with their Arms, to terrifie and fright such as should oppose the design; of which twenty the most eminent persons are recounted by Hermippus.--- Assoon as the tumult began,* Charilaus *the King fled unto the neighbouring Temple, but being otherwise informed, and receiving an Oath for their good intentions, he joyned with them, being naturally mild.* How much he was abetted by the *richer sort* is further manifest, by what *Plutarch* relates; After he had divided the Land into lots, and nulled the use of *Money*, he ordained they should have *common Ordinaries*, and eat alwayes *in publick* upon *course fare.* Δοὺς δὲ μάλιστα φασὶ τῷ Λυκούργῳ πρὸς τοῦτο πολίτευμα χαλεποὺς γενέσθαι τοὺς εὐπόρους, καὶ συστάντας ἐπ' αὐτὸν αὐθίς κατιδεῖν καὶ ἀγαγακτεῖν, τέλος δὲ συλλόβδην ἀπὸ πολλῶν ἐξέπεσε τῆς

p. 42.

The ἄριστοι, the ἐπιφανέστατοι, or men of greatest repute, being his adversaries.

The Greek being dubious, I am to be allowed my own sense.

In vit. Lycurg. p. 45.

τῆς ἀρχῆς. Hereupon *PRINCIPALLY* [there were *other conſtitutions* then which they did regret] *the richer ſort of men were diſaffected unto* Lycurgus's *Common-Wealth, and imbodying themſelves, they did not onely decry but fall upon him, and pelted him with ſtones out of the Market-place; in fine, one of them beat out his eye with a Cudgel.* Beſides, it being particularly expreſſed how *Charilaus* did joyn with him (to ſay nothing of that additional conjecture, from the *feud* betwixt the *Royal Families*, to the younger whereof *Lycurgus* was allyed) It may thence be ſuppoſed that *Archelaus* did not concur; And of them which did aſſiſt him, being twenty eight in number (or thirty, as others ſay, two whereof did after deſert him) they had *probably* the hopeful inducements as well as gratification of making up the *Senate for Life*, and to whom were added, into ſome ſmall Prerogatives of Splendor, the *two former Kings*, retaining nothing but the *Name* of *Kings* and *Hereditary Succeſſors* thereunto; an *Act* which as it ſeemed to take in their *Intereſts*, ſo it was the more *popular* and *juſt*, becauſe the *Kings* then in *being*, had *nothing in them extraordinary above the commonalty*, but their *name* and *honour*; ὄνομα γὰρ τιμὴν, ἄλλο δ' οὐδὲν ἢ διαφέρειν τῶν πολλῶν, ἔχοντες. This *Senate* of *twenty eight* (with the two Kings beſides) was not choſen *by the people*, but being the Ἄριστοι, or men of unqueſtionable worth, they are inſtituted by *Lycurgus* himſelf, before the appointment of the *Popular Aſſembly*. πλεῖστα δὲ καὶ ὀπωμυμένων ὑπὸ τοῦ Λυκούργου, πρῶτον ἁπάντων καὶ μέγιστον ἡ κατάστασις τῆς γερουσίας. *Many things being innovated by Lycurgus; the FIRST and greateſt thing, was the eſtabliſhment of the Senate*, which ſeems to be further evinced by what *Herodotus* ſaith of *Lycurgus*, that he *altered the Laws*, μετέστησε τὰ νόμιμα, *and eſtabliſhed the Ephori and Senators.* Πρὸς τετέτοις, τοὺς ἐφόρους καὶ γέροντας ἔστησε Λυκοῦργος.

Ibid p. 42.

Plutarch in Lycurg. p. 42.

Ibid.

Lib. 1. c. 64.

This *laſt poſtage* puts me in minde of a *miſtake* in that *excellently learned Dr. Heylin*, who in a diſcourſe againſt Mr. *Harrington* (*p.* 250) obſerveth it as a ſingularity in *Plato*, "that he made *Lycurgus the inſtitutor of the* Ephorate, "Ariſtotle, Plutarch *and all other writes being of the contrary opinion.* The place alledged out of *Herodotus* will inform him, that the *Lacedemonians themſelves avow* what *Plato* ſaid, [αὐτοὶ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιοι λέγουσι] and it will not prejudice

dice the *assertion*, that all other *Greek* writers report otherwise, since the *Narrations* which the *Spartans* (who were best acquainted with their own affairs, it being a constant *Mystery* in their *State*, to keep others unacquainted therewith) made, did much differ from that account of them which passed amongst the other *Greeks*.

Herodot. l. 6. c. 52. 53.

There is also another *errour* not to be passed over in Mr. *Harrington*, since he is pleased to pretend to such an accurate knowledge of *ancient policy*, and so largely to discourse of *Sparta*; and that is, in his *reply* to the incomparable Dr. *Heylin* (against *Calvin*) he so expounds the *Oracle* given to *Lycurgus*, as if the *Delphick God* had enjoyed that *Legislator* to *establish the Senate consisting with the two Kings, of thirty Senators*, whereas this establishment was *casual*, twenty eight onely concurring to assist him, as I have shewed above out of *Plutarch*, who citeth for it, *Aristotle* and (*a*) *Sphærus*. Nor is there any such thing as Mr. *Harrington* represents, in the *Oracle*, either as it is put into *Verse* by *Tyrteus* the *Lacedemonian* Poet, or as it is published in *Plutarch*, whence he pretends to transcribe it. The *Edition* I use, and I believe he hath not seen any other, thus reads it. Δίος Συλλανίε καὶ Ἀθανας ἱερὸν ἱδρυσάμενος, φυλὰς φυλάξαντα, καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαντα τριάκοντα, γερουσίαν σὺν ἀρχαγέταισι καταστήσαντα, ὥρας ἐξ ὥρας ἀπελλάζειν μεταξὺ Βαβύκα τε καὶ Κνακίωνος, εὐθείας εἰσφέροντα καὶ ἀφιστάντας, κράτος δὲ καὶ κῦρος τοῦ πλήθεος ἦμεν καὶ κράτος. *When thou hast built a Temple to* Jupiter Syllanius *and* Minerva Syllania, *and continuing the division of Tribes, hast instituted thirty* Obæ, *and hast established a convention of old men together with the Kings, assemble the people from time to time betwixt the Bridge and the River* Cnacion, *to propose and take Notes, the people having the final result and power.*

(*a*) Sphærus *was himself in* Sparta, *and lived there with the famous King* Cleomenes, *Plutarc. in Agid. & Cleom. p. 805.*

H. Stephanus *doth use the same lection in his* Index *at the word* ὠβαὶ. *And* Crajus *de rep. Laced. l. 1. c. 6.*

Ibid. p. 43. A. Κράτος δὲ ἀναγὰν εἶμεν καὶ κράτος.

All that I can say in his behalf is, that being neither acquainted with the *Greek* Tongue, nor skilled in *History*, but trading with *Compendiums*, he was deceived by them herein, as also in the *Interpretation* of that other part of the *Oracle*, φυλὰς φυλάξαντα, καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαντα. The first words signifie *continuing* or *retaining the division into tribes*; and not as he *falsly* represents it, *having divided the people into Tribes*, which will *indubitably* appear to him who shall consider, that the division into *Tribes* was preexistent to the reiglement of

Vide Cragin de repul. Lacec. l. c. 6.

Lycur-

Lycurgus, *Hesychius* in Πιτανάτης, saith that *Menelaus* was of the *Tribe* of Πιτάνη, *Pitana*, the like proof appears for the *Heraclide*, and *Ægide*; and *Strabo* seems to consent herein, who sayes, that the Territory of *Lacedemon* was of old divided into *six parts*; amongst them (as also at *Rome*, and *Athens*) a *Tribe* did not signifie a *number of men descended from one original Family*, *but a number of men planted upon such or such a distribution of land*, to whom it was *casually*, if they were of *one linage*; thus the *Heraclidæ* and *Ægidæ*, the descendants of *Hercules* and *Ægeus* made up *two Tribes*, the *other four* were named from the *places* they dwelt in, as the *Limnata* from λίμναι, *Limnæ*, where they inhabited, &c. Thus the *Tribes* did somewhat resemble our *Counties*, and the *Obæ* our *hundreds*, being *subdivisions of a greater previous division*. Ὦβοι, it should be ὠβαὶ, τόποι μεγαλομερεῖς, *Obæ*, signifies a *large division of land*, so *Hesychius*; nor is it probable that regard should more be had to *Families* in the *Obæ*, then *Tribes*, the *former* being a *subdivision* of the *latter*. There is then *another mistake* in Mr. *Harrington* in that he renders ὠβαὶ, *Obæ*, to be *Linages*, for which he can alleadge no *shadow* of *proof* out of *credible Writers*. All that *Plutarch* saith is, τὸ μὴ φύλας φυλάξαι καὶ ὠβὰς ὠβάξαι, διίχαινίστι καὶ καταπεῖμαι τὸ πλῆθος εἰς μοιρίδας, ὧν τὰς μὲν, φυλὰς, τὰς δ', ὠβὰς προσηγόρευκεν, which passage is more easily reconciled to my opinion, then my proofs to Mr. *Harringtons*, and therefore I value it not much.

φυλὴ, τάγμα, μέρος πόλεως, & φυλὰς, τὰς κατοικίας, Hesych.

Ὦβάτης, φιλέτης. Hesych.

I come now to that other part of the *Spartan* Common-wealth instituted by *Lycurgus*, viz. the *popular assembly*. *In this Assembly of the people, none else was permitted to speak his mind, but the people had the full power of determining upon what was proposed by the Senators and Kings.* Τῷ δὲ πλήθει ἀφεστήκει εἰπεῖν μὲν ἃ λυσιτελοῦντα ἐγνώκεισαν οἱ ἄλλοι προφέρειν, τὸν δ' ὕστατον καὶ γερόντων καὶ τῶν βασιλέων προστιθέναι ἐπικράτει κύριον ἦν ὁ δῆμος. *Ibid. p. 43. c.* The *Oracle* already repeated, containing the *fundamental constitutions* of *Sparta*, was preserved under the name of Ῥήτρα, *Rhetra*. And in this posture, with that *famous model of laws* compiled by *Lycurgus*, division of lands established by an *Agrarian*, forreign commerce, Rhetorique and Learning, yea accumulating of riches being *prohibited* or *prevented*, did this

this *Republique* continue without any *degeneration of manners*, for about *one hundred and thirty years*. At what time *Polydorus* and *Theopompus* being Kings, the *inconvenience* of the *aforesaid Government* (though established in such circumstances, as it is in vain for all others to hope for, or imagine) was found such, *the people taking upon them to adde, diminish, pervert and evert what the Senate proposed*, that to the *fundamental Rhetra* it was added, *If the people did not determine well, then the Senate and Kings should stop the procedure*, not by enacting themselves, but by *dismissing the people for that time, as misapprehending things*. And for this alteration a new *Oracle* was pretended. This is *positively* averred by *Plutarch*, whose *Greek* doth fully warrant my *English* assertion, which is but a translation of him. Ibid. p. 43. C.

Ὑστερον μέν τι τῶν πολλῶν ἀφαιρέτει καὶ προσθήσει τὰς γνώμας διαστρέφοντων, καὶ παρεκβιαζομένων, Πολύδωρος καὶ Θεόπομπος βασιλεῖς τάδε τῇ Ρήτρᾳ παρενέγραψαν· Αἰ δὲ σκολιὰν ὁ δᾶμος ἔρριτο, τοὺς πρεσβυγενέας καὶ ἀρχαγέτας ὑποστατῆρας εἶμεν. Ἴσον ἐστὶ, μὴ κυρᾶν, ἀλλ' ὅλως ἀφίστασθαι, καὶ διαλύειν τὸν δῆμον ὡς ἐπτερόεντα καὶ μεταποιοῦντα τῇ γνώμᾳ παρὰ τὸ βέλτιστον. This additional to the *Rhetra* did not impower the Senate and Kings to make any *positive resolutions* where the people failed in their part, but *totally to dismiss* them *for that time*, as not *judging aright* in what *was proposed*.

That there was no *variation in the manners*, nor the people any way debauched then from the rules of *Lycurgus*, it is clear. For several centuries of years after the decease of *Theopompus* and *Polydorus*, in the dayes of the great *Spartan* Captain *Lysander*; then, and not till then was there the least tendency to a change of manners in *Lacedæmon*. Plutarch. in Agid. & Cleom. p. 797. C.

Ἀρχὴν μὲν ἔν διαφθορᾶς καὶ τοῦ νοσεῖν ἴσχε τὰ πρόγματα τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων, σχεδὸν ἀφ' οὗ τὴν Ἀθηναίων καταλύσαντες ἡγεμονίαν, χρυσίῳ τε καὶ ἀργυρίῳ κατέπλησαν ἑαυτούς. *The Commonwealth of* Sparta *had it's first beginning to decline and corrupt, almost as soon as they had subdued* Athens, *and stored themselves with gold and silver*. [The *manners* then of that people were not *corrupted*.]

[The *Agrarian Law* was not *subverted* neither.] For that was in it's full *force* until after *Lysander*'s time too; who however he introduced *gold* and *silver*, yet were

were not the particular *allotments* of Land alienated 'till after that. *Plutarch* in the place just now cited, having spoken how the introducing of *riches* into *Sparta* by *Lysander* did give the *first occasion* to the ruine of that *Republique*, addes thereupon, *That the continuance of the* Agrarian *unaltered did preserve the State from other mischiefs. But one* Epitadeus, *a powerful, resolute and morose fellow, being chosen Ephorus, and having a quarrel with his Son, he induced the people to make a law, that it should be lawful for any man to dispose of his allotment, during his life, or at his death, unto whom he should please.* Ἅμως γέπως ἡ τάξις αὕτη καὶ ἰσότης διαμένουσα [sc. παιδὸς παιδὶ τὸν κλῆρον ἀπολιπόντος] τὴν πόλιν ἐκ τῶν ἄλλων ἀπέρριπτε ἁμαρτημάτων. ἐφορεύσας δέ τις ἀνὴρ δυνατὸς, αὐθάδης καὶ χαλεπὸς τὸν τρόπον, Ἐπιτάδευς ὄνομα, πρὸς τὸν υἱὸν αὐτῷ γενομένης διαφορᾶς, ῥήτραν ἔγραψεν, ἐξεῖναι τὸν οἶκον αὐτὸν καὶ τὸν κλῆρον ᾧ τις ἐθέλοι, καὶ ζῶντα δόντα, καὶ καταλιπεῖν διαθέμενον. ἔστι μὲν οὖν αὐτῷ πρὸς θυμὸν ἀποπεπλᾶναι ἴδιον, εἰσήνεγκε τὸν νόμον· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι πλουτεῖν ἔτεροι δεξάμενοι καὶ κυριεύσαντες, ἀπώλεσαν τὴν ἀρίστην κατάστασιν.

As for the *Senate* and *Kings*, there is not any default charged upon either of them by *Plutarch*, (whose words I have fully set down) but all is fixed upon the *people*; they *chose ill*, they *resolved ill*; this is manifestly avowed, the others did not *propose ill*, or give the people *any occasion* for their *deportment*, that we can learn from one who was *concerned* to *write* it, if there *had been* any such thing, and could *inform* himself *perfectly*, out of the *Lacedæmonian Acts and Records*, by the help whereof *he hath corrected* * *such things of others as have been but slightly or falsly set down.* It may be you may say, that the constitution of the *Senate* was evil, it being *for life*, and not erected upon a *rotation*: but truly I think there was *no great defect* in that, since it was made up of men who *lived no longer then we do now*, and were besides their *eminent vertue*, to be *sixty years* of age at least. So that if there were no *rotation*, yet the *imminent approach of death* in them was *equivalent* thereunto. As for the *two Kings* who added that clause to the *fundamental Rhetra*, I do not remember to read them censured: *Theopompus*, descended from *Eurytion*, is called by *Tyrtæus* the *Spartan* Poet, θεοῖσι φίλος, *the beloved of the Gods*: and *Polydorus* is infinitely commended by *Pausanias*, as a *man of great repute in* Sparta, *and as it were made for to honour that people, using never any violence in his actings, nor opprobrious words*

* Bodin de Repub. l. 2. c 1.

The Senatours might be outed upon particular misdemeanours.

Polybius speaking of this *Senate for life*, doth not in the least condemn the *model*, l 6. pag 489. and I hope he was a good *Politician*, and it was *proper* there for him to censure it if he had thought it *culpable*: he being there to *compare Republiques*. Laconic. p. 162.

words

words towards any, just in his judgements, yet with inclinations to mercy; yea, after his death he had many solemnities performed by the people to his perpetual honour. Πολύσωμον ἐν δοκιμῇ ἔτι ἐόντα ἐν Σπάρτῃ καὶ κατὰ γνώμην Λακεδαιμονίων μάλιστα ὄντα τῷ δήμῳ, ἄτε δὲ ἀρχὴν δίκαιον, ἄτε ὑβριστὴν λόγον παρείχετο ἐς αὐτόν, ᾧ ἢ ταῖς κρίσισι τὰ δίκαια ἐφύλασσεν, ἀεὶ αἰεὶ φιλανθρωπίας --- ἀποθανόντι δὲ αὐτῷ πολλὰ τιμὴ παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίων δέδοται ἡρῷα ἀξιόλογα ἐς τιμήν.

Before I proceed further, observe,

That by the example of *Lycurgus*, however a Legislator may have an accurate Idæa in his head, yet in his practise he must be content to effect so much as the circumstances he is in, will permit: and not destroy or hazard that prosperity which he may really and assuredly compass, by aiming at an imaginary condition, whereto he is led rather by *riches*, then *hopes* prudentially conceived. Thus *Lycurgus* finding *Sparta* ill Governed, he regulated that inconvenience, it being altogether *insupportable*: but whereas they were ‖ *insociable towards strangers*, ξείνοισιν ἀποστύμικτοι; he continued them so. He did not abrogate the *heriditarines*s, but quality of the *Monarchy*: and engaged 28 to follow him by the *fundamental* erection of a *Senate for life*. He retained the division into *Tribes*, and onely subdivided them into *Obæ*.

Herodot. l. 1. c. 65.

That, howsoever *Mr. Harrington* may opiniate it, *A Popular Assembly*, regulated according to his own model, *may choose ill*, and that in affairs of such concernment that albeit the *Agrarian* and other constitutions be firm, there may be a necessity of a *Negative* in *some cases* to be exercised by a *Senate*.

That to the miscarriages of such a *Popular Assembly* no great tract of time is requisite, as in *other forms*: within the compass of 130 years the people

people of *Sparta*'s inhability was ſo *viſible*, that the inſtitution of a *Negative* in the *Senate* (upon caſe of their failour) was not onely effected, maugre *Mr. Harringtons* chains and tyes in the *Ballance*, and *Orders*, but ſo effected that the Authours thereof, *Theopompus* and *Polydorus* did retain their *popularity* after that Act.

After this change the *people* of *Sparta* flouriſhed infinitely more then before, and all the *glory* and ſubſiſtence for ſo many hundred years before and after *Lyſander*, was derived from this *government:* which they, from the *great power of the Senate*, called an *Oligarchy*, and *Ariſtocracy*, (but the *former name*, I think, is *more uſual*) and were ſo *endeared* thereunto (the Ballance continuing diſſonant to *Mr. Harrington*) that they adviſed their neighbouring *Democracies* to the *like reiglement*; *Thucydides* ſaith, that *the Lacedæmonians uſing THIS form of Government did flouriſh* 400 *years, even to his time, growing thereby potent, and helpful to their neighbours.* Lib. 1. p. 13. Ἔτη γὰρ ἐστὶ τετρακόσια καὶ ὀλίγῳ πλείω ἐς τὸν τελευτῶντα τοῦδε τοῦ πολέμου ἀφ' οὗ Λακεδαιμόνιοι τῇ αὐτῇ † πολιτείᾳ χρῶνται, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ δυνάμενοι, καὶ τὰ ἐν ταῖς ἄλλαις πόλεσι καθίστασιν. † τῇ αὐτῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῶνται] τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, τῇ γερουσίᾳ. Scholiaſt. And the Government, which *Thucydides* ſo magnifies in them, is by the *Scholiaſt* termed *Oligarchy*. And that they did invite and perſwade their *Allies* to the like *Oligarchies* is apparent. *They did not rule them as Tributaries, but they drew them to embrace the Oligarchy, convenient to their own policy.* Καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι οὐ φόρου ὑποτελεῖς ἔχοντες τὰς ξυμμαχίδας ἦγοντο, καθ' ὀλιγαρχίαν δὲ σφίσιν αὐτοῖς μόνον ἐπιτηδείως ὅπως πολιτεύσουσι διεκόσμουν. Ibid. p. 14. The *Scholiaſt* is more full, ſaying, that *they did cajol them to admit a Government, not onely ſuitable to the intereſt, but reſembling the model of Sparta.* ὅπως αὐτοῖς τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις ἐπιτήδειος καὶ ὁμοίως πολιτεύεσθαι ἀναγκάσωσι. Herewith agrees what *Diodorus Siculus* writes, how after his Conqueſts, *Lyſander was ſent about to order the affairs of the Grecian cities, and he erected Oligarchies therein.* Οὗτος [Λύσανδρος] καταλυθέντος τοῦ πολέμου καὶ τὰς πόλεις ἀπέστειλτο διοικῆσαι, καὶ ὀλιγαρχίας ἐν ταῖς πλείσταις καθίστα. Bibliothec. l. 1. p. 235. ——— Ταῖς γὰρ Δημοκρατίαις φθονοῦντες οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τὰς Ὀλιγαρχίας ἐζήλουν ταῖς πόλεσι διοικεῖσθαι. Ibid. p. 241. Had there been no more difference then *Hereditary titular-Kings* and a *Senate of old men, for life*, The

Spartans had never been ſtiled an *Oligarchy* in oppoſition to *Democracy*, nor the Cities which ſided with them εἰ τὴν ὀλιγαρχίαν αἱρεῖται, *Oligarchiſts*, it being a *real Oligarchy* which they embraced, as is evident from *Hiſtory*. This enſuing paſſage of *Demoſthenes* who lived in thoſe dayes, will evidence this truth, and acquaint us with the *power* of the *Senatours* at *Lacedæmon*. Οὐ γὰρ ἀγνοῶ τοῦτ', ὅτι Θηβαῖοι, καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, καὶ ἡμεῖς, ἕτερα νόμιμα, ἕτερα ἐθισμὰ χρώμεθα τοῖς αὐτοῖς. ἔστι πολιτεία — εἶτα καὶ οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι, τῶν μὲν τοιούτων ἄλλων ἀφίστανται· ἄλλα δέ τινες παρ' ἐκείνοις εἰσὶ τιμαὶ ἃς ἀπόξαι' ἂν ἅπας ὁ δῆμος ἐνταυθοῖ γενέσθαι. Τίνες δ' εἰσὶν αὗται; τὸν μὲν καθ' ἕκαστον ἐάσω, μίαν δ' ἣ συλλαβοῦσα τὰς ἄλλας ἔχει, δίειμι. ἐπειδάν τις εἰς τὴν καλουμένην γερουσίαν ἐγκριθῇ, παρασκευὴν ἑαυτὸν ὅλον χρὴ, Διὸς πόρος ἐστὶ τῶν πολλῶν. ἐκεῖ μὲν γὰρ ἔστι τῆς ἀρετῆς ἆθλον, τῆς πολιτείας κυρίῳ γενέσθαι καὶ τῶν ἐκεῖνον παρὰ δὲ ὑμῖν, ταύτης μὲν ὁ δῆμος κύριος, καὶ ἀρχαὶ, καὶ νόμοι, καὶ φυλακαὶ, ὅπως μηδεὶς ἄλλος κύριος γενήσεται. τίφασιν τε καὶ ἀτιμίαι, καὶ ἐπίσεις, καὶ ταῦτα ἔστιν, ὧν ἄν τις ἀνὴρ ἀγαθὸς εἶναι τύχοι. *For I am not ignorant of this, that the* Thebans, *the* Lacedæmonians, *and we of* Athens, *have neither reſembling laws, nor cuſtoms, nor form of Government.* ------- *The* Lacedæmonians *decline ſuch uſages: but they have other kinds of honour amongſt them, which our people would heartily wiſh removed, if they were practiſed here. What are thoſe? I ſhall not repeat them ſeverally, but inſtance in one which comprehends them all. When any one is choſen into the Senate, being qualified as it is requiſite, he becomes thereupon* MASTER *over the people. For in that place vertue hath this reward, that it's owner arrives to be* LORD *(together with his* (a) *fellow-Senatours) of the Republique. but amongſt you* Athenians *the* People *are* SUPREAM *in the Commonwealth, and you have appointed Magiſtrates, Laws, and Guards, to prevent any elſe from uſurping the* SOVERAIGNTY: *to be crowned, to be freed from Taxes, to Dyet publiquely in the Prytaneum, theſe are dignities which the vertuous may attain unto in your City.* In this paſſage of the *learneſt of Oratours*, who lived in the time of *thoſe wars*, and ſpoke to ſuch as had been acquainted with *Democratical* & *Oligarchical* Governments, having lived under *both* (the *Spartans* having ſubdued them) & fought for the *former* againſt the *latter*, he tells them that the *Governments Political* of *Athens* and *Sparta* were not *one and the ſame*.

Diodor. Sic. l. 14. p. 333.

Orat. adv. Leptin. p. 315. edit. Wolfii.

(a) Or *Peers*; for that is the proper ſignification of the *Greeks*.

The power of the *Athenian* people is oppoſed to that of the *Spartan* Senate; and not the defect of *rotation* in one *Senate* above the other; nor the power of *debating* in the *Democracy* of *Athens*, which wanted in *Sparta*: but the *final reſult* is fixed in the *Spartan* Senate.

And

And that the difference lay mainly herein, that in *Athens* the *PEOPLE* had the *SOVERAIGNTY*, & in *Sparta* the *SENATE*. It is therefore apparent that *Lacedæmon* was no *Oceaniſtical Republique*, but an *Oligarchy*, ὀλιγαρχία καὶ δυσποτία, as *Demoſthenes* calls it in the ſame place. The Scholiaſt *Ulpian* upon the place ſaith, that the *power of the Senate was ſo great, that it was almoſt a Tyranny.* Σχεδὸν γὰρ τυραννὶς ἡ τιμή.

It is then demonſtratively true, that *Sparta* was no otherwiſe a *Common-wealth*, after the new reiglement by *Polydorus* and *Theopompus*, then as it conſiſted of a *Senate for life*, elected by popular ſuffrage out of men eminently qualified and aged ſixty years at leaſt, and an *Aſſembly of the people*, who if they *judged well*, had the *Reſult*, if not, then might the *Senate* diſmiſſe them by the interpoſition of their *Negative* in ſuch a caſe.

An houſe of Peers *that this was the model I have already evinced, and as for the power of the* Ephori *(upon whoſe account onely* Ariſtotle *makes* Sparta *a* Democracy, *Polit. l. 2. c. 6.) I profeſſe I no where can inform my ſelf of* the Power, *though ſeveral* ſtrong Acts *of theirs be recorded.* P. 150.

It is likewiſe evident how *groſly* the *Authors of Oceana* (though they do vouch for the *Truth* of what the Lord *Archon* ſaith, the credit of the Lord *Loco de Scytale*, who never bare *Peloponneſus*) were miſtaken in their account of *Lacedemon*, and how it was an *Oligarchy*, and ſince Mr. *Harrington*'s errour is the ſame with their's, it is evident how far the *Reading* of that * *Gaaduate in Arts and Politiques* hath failed his *Archipolitical Scene.*

In the Preface to Politicaſter *he will needs keep an* Act *(or ſtir rather) declaring himſelf* Batchelor & Maſter *of* Arts, Batchelor *and* Doctor of Law, *&c.*

Thirdly, It is clearly that an *Oligarchy* (for ſuch the *Oceaniſts* now tearm any Government wherein a *Senate* hath power extraordinarily to interpoſe) *hath been in nature*, and *may be* therefore *in nature again*: that it *may ſubſiſt*, for ſo did *Sparta*

Sparta above 700. years in an *Oligarchical* Form, and that all that ever Mr. *Harrington* hath ever advantigeouſly alleadged about *Lacedemon*, muſt be referred to *Oligarchy*; *Lacedemon* being no *better an Example* of an *equal republick*, then *Publicola* an *advocate* for *Liberty of Conſcience*, and againſt an *influencing Senate*.

Fourthly, it is manifeſt that by how much the *Spartans* are of more *repute* then the *Athenians*, and their *republick* more celebrated, ſo far *Oligarchy* is advanced above *Democracy*. Nor is this all, *Plato* and *many others* (ſaith *Ulpian* upon the already cited Oration of *Demoſthenes* againſt *Leptines*) did not onely acknowledge that *Sparta* was an *Oligarchy*, but that ſuch an *Oligarchy* was to be preferred before *Democracy*. Πλάτων μὲν ἄλλοι πολλοὶ μὲν τῶν Ὀλιγαρχίαν καὶ τὴν πολιτείαν τὴν Λακεδαιμονίων τῆς Δημοκρατίας προκρίνουσι. Ulpian. *in* Demoſt. *adv.* Leptin. *p.* 140. *and* 141. And *Demoſthenes* in the very *Oration* having endeavoured to amend the *Democracy* of *Athens* before the *Spartan Oligarchy*, to prevent any *innovation*, concludes thus faintly. *However the Political conſtitution of* Lacedemon *may ſeem in reaſon to excel and be better then ours, yet ſince you have proſpered under the preſent Model, it is beſt to continue.* Εἰ γὰρ μὲν κατὰ λογισμὸν ἐκεῖνα φανεῖη βέλτιον, τῆς γε τύχης ἕνεκα, ἣν παρὰ ταῦτα ἔχετε δικαίως ἂν δεδοικέναι, ὅπως τοῦτον ἄξιον μείνητε: Upon which words the *Sholaſt* remarques; Εἰ γὰρ κατὰ λογισμὸν δίκαιον εἴπῃν, εἰ χρὴ τὸν κοινὸν λογισμὸν ὑπερβάλλειν τὰ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων (χρεὼν γὰρ ἅπαντες ἡμῶν εἰς Ἀριστοκρατίαν αὐτὴν) ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ ἡ τύχη ἡμῖν πλοῦν συναίρεται ἐν οἷς ἐχόμεθα (δεύτερος δὲ λογισμὸς τῆς εὐτυχίας, ὡς μὲν ἐν τοῖς φιλοπόλεμοις φησὶ) χρηστὸν ταύτη μᾶλλον. Ulpian. in or. adv. Leptin. p. 141.

I have often ſmiled, when I read in Grecian Hiſtories *of that fierce war betwixt* Sparta *and* Athens, *the former aſſerting* Oligarchy, *and the latter* Democracy, *and both profeſſing* to vindicate the Liberties of Greece (*the War was called*

ὁ πόλε-

ὁ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἑλληνικῶν δικαίων πόλεμος, *or the war for the vindicating the Rights and Franchiſements of the* Grecians) *to conſider how impatient Mr.* Harrington *is of all* oppoſition, *and what* Idiots *he makes the* Oligarchiſts *in our dayes to be.*

Fifthly, It is deducible from the ſtate of *Lacedæmon*, that Mr. *Harringtons* renowned Doctrine of the *Ballance* doth no way *convince*: The *Ballance* in *Sparta* was *popular*, no *Senatour* having more *Land* (nor overballance of *money*) then any other *Citizen*: Yet was it an *Oligarchy*, and the *Senate* with a *Negative* over the *General Aſſembly of the People themſelves* (and not their *repreſentatives*) did ſubſiſt many *centuries*, but the *Oceaniſtical Platform* did not mantain it ſelf above a hundred and thirty years.

Quid verba *audio*, cùm *facta* videam?

* * *

Contra *rationem* nemo ſobrius, contra *experientiam* nemo ſanus.

FINIS.

THE Author being not in a capacity to attend the Preſs, he deſires that all thoſe *Errata* which may have befallen him through the miſcarriage of the *Compoſer*, may not be imputed unto him, and if here happen any faylour in the *references* or *citations*, that the Reader would not condemn him of *forgery*, until he have found out the place aimed at, and then to judge of the inferences, there being nothing here which his own *reading* had not *convinced* him to be *true*.